# NATIONAL REVIEW

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION


## *Report from the Far East*

MARVIN LIEBMAN

## *The Left Understands the Left*

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

## *Cult of Inevitability*

REVILO OLIVER

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*Articles and Reviews by* · · · SLOBODAN M. DRASKOVICH
L. BRENT BOZELL · ABE KALISH · WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.
JAMES BURNHAM · ROBERT PHELPS · WILLMOORE KENDALL


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# For the Record

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO is opposed to any exchange of trade union delegations with the Soviet Union. Said Meany: "No believer in the basic principles of free trade unionism could desecrate these principles by undertaking to visit a country whose tyrannical leadership has been the avowed and uncompromising enemy of all human rights."...It's reliably reported that the order issued to U.S. diplomats at the time of the Hungarian revolt a year ago to avoid associating with Soviet diplomats socially has been withdrawn.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers reported last week that the nation's production of goods and services rose to a record rate of $438 billion annually in the third quarter, $10 billion above the yearly rate in the third quarter last year. However, almost all of this rise represents price inflation rather than increase of physical output....Watch for other Republican leaders in Congress to follow Vice President Nixon's lead in warning the nation that there will be no tax cuts next year. The GOP hopes, by taking the initiative in this, to stave off a Democratic tax-cutting attempt.

The Dean Manion Forum has distributed 60,000 copies of a speech made by Herbert Kohler of the Kohler Manufacturing Company over the Manion "Forum of Opinion" several weeks ago, and more copies are being run off in response to demand. The Mutual Broadcasting System (as reported in NATIONAL REVIEW Nov. 9) refused to allow the Kohler address to be broadcast over its network, but it was carried over 70 independent stations....The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that a union representing a minority of employees cannot picket for recognition as exclusive bargaining agent. This, said the NLRB, amounts to coercion of employees....Secretary of Labor Mitchell urges legislation providing for secret union elections at least every four years.

It's now estimated that 25,000 Yugoslavs, most of them young men and women, have fled to Austria and Italy since January first ....East Germany is reported suffering from an acute manpower shortage due to the flight of able-bodied young people to West Germany. More than two million East Germans have crossed to the West since 1946—nearly 12 per cent of East Germany's total population of 17 million.


# NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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# The WEEK

● It all went off like one of those trips of Dick Nixon's to foreign parts—everything right on schedule, no feelings hurt, a good time had by all. Mission accomplished: Mr. Nixon willed peace in the Republican Party of California, and got it. He wished Goodie Knight out of the race for the governorship and into that for the Senate, and Knight has complied. We willed and wished the same, but probably for a different reason from Mr. Nixon's, namely: a belief that as Governor of California William Knowland might become the strongest Republican contender for the Presidency, Dick Nixon notwithstanding.

● The Pentagon chiefs and congressional leaders, who are under powerful post-Sputnik pressure to drop all restrictions on sharing our military secrets with all and sundry, will have to ponder an incident that was itself kept inexplicably secret for six weeks. On September 25 J. Robert Oppenheimer became, in a quiet little ceremony at the office of the French cultural attaché in New York, a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The French government, perhaps out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, made no announcement about it. Dr. Oppenheimer himself promptly added it to the long list of matters about which he preserves a discreet silence. So one can only speculate about those of Dr. Oppenheimer's high qualities that must have been mentioned in the citation. Devotion to the truth? Patriotism? Dislike of name-dropping? Your guess is as good as ours.

● President Eisenhower has announced that he will go to France to attend next month's NATO meeting. Presumably the heads of most of the other NATO governments will also be present. This meeting will test the response of the NATO members to the Kremlin's current terror campaign, and will presumably be decisive for NATO's future. If the morale of the members is collapsing under Khrushchev's psychic blows, NATO may be expected to undergo rapid disintegration. If the rude new Communist challenge has finally roused the slumbering Western will to survive, then the strength and activity of the NATO alliance may begin a rapid ascent.

● A three-day international symposium is being held in Washington this week on methods of converting sea water into fresh water. During the past year notable progress has been made on this problem, the solution of which many scientists believe will have an effect on mankind even more profound than the unlocking of nuclear energy. For some months a converter using the ionic membrane method has been supplying fresh water to Bahrein, on the Persian Gulf. The Maxim Silencer Company of Hartford, Conn. has recently announced a new method which, the company claims, can supply fresh water to cities at a price of about 20 cents a thousand gallons—cheaper than the present cost in most large cities. A big-scale, low-cost conversion system would make it possible to transform many of the earth's vast deserts into fertile farm lands, as was done through irrigation in California's Imperial Valley, and would at the same time supply the geometrically expanding pure water needs of modern industrial plants.

● He puffs a pipe. He's a nice guy. Such is the tenor of talk among the dons at Cambridge, England, when the name of Dr. Peter Kapitza, the Soviet scientist, comes up. Kapitza, it seems, spent fourteen years of his life working in the field of low temperature physics at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge. When he left for Moscow in 1934 the Russians arranged to buy his laboratory equipment for $90,000, and the British even went so far as to send two trained assistants along to help reassemble it on Russian soil. And what is it that Kapitza has been laboring on all these years, with British blessings and aid? Why, nothing less than a viable artificial satellite. Looking back over this strange turn in "international cooperation" and "cultural exchange," Lord Hailsham, the chairman of Britain's Conservative Party, sets it down as a "melancholy reflection" that "we gave the Russians the satellite." We not only find it melancholy, we find it cockeyed. But the Cambridge scientists, those apostles of brotherly love, still go on saying that Kapitza is a nice guy. As if that were an answer to anything at all.

● Like everyone else, we believe in opinion polls only when they prove a point we want to make—as the latest one from Dr. Gallup certainly does. Seventy-two per cent of the Southerners he polled in January of this year "approved" of Mr. Eisenhower's handling of his job; today 36 per cent approve; and there has been no countervailing gain in approvals (a small loss, rather) out over the rest of the country. Apparently the Southerners don't like being read out of the community.

● A flourishing agricultural economy apparently is more important to the Communist masters of Poland than doctrinal purity among the peasants. The Polish government reportedly is considering the abolition



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of compulsory agricultural delivery quotas as a sure means of spurring agricultural production. Since Polish peasants received permission a year ago to leave collective farms, 80 per cent of the collective farms have folded, land values have increased fivefold, and the grain crop this year was 700,000 tons larger than in 1956. Premier Gomulka hopes for even greater things when the peasant can sell all his produce on the open market. It's just a matter of zlotys and sense.

● Dennis W. Brogan, an English professor of political science currently lecturing at Yale University, has discovered that America has been getting something for nothing at the expense of the Crown. Since they have enjoyed sharing in "much of the entertainment" provided by the British royal family, these American free loaders should, in Mr. Brogan's opinion, contribute to the support of Their Majesties. We think you've got something there, Professor. We're prepared to pick up the tab for the House of Windsor if the British government picks up the tab for the rest of the Empire.

● Lester B. Pearson—Canada's Nobel Prize-winning ex-Foreign Minister, and patron of the late Herbert Norman who jumped to death from a Cairo hotel last winter while evidence of his Communist connections was publicly revived—is not in the least disturbed over Sputniks I & II, Red ICBM's, or Kremlin threats. They all go to prove, he declared in a lecture at the University of Minnesota, what he has advocated all along: we have got to get over "inflexible hostility to Soviet Russia," abandon "the well-worn clichés of the superiority of freedom and democracy," and "go on seeking, patiently and persistently, a basis for negotiation and agreement" that will usher in the era of "peaceful coexistence" which, so Mr. Pearson suggested, is Khrushchev's heart's desire. This was the banquet of international wisdom that the University of Minnesota administration saw fit to spread before 4,500 students.

● As the French government crisis nudged into its sixth week, even the National Assembly deputies became alarmed—so alarmed in fact, that 337 of them voted Felix Gaillard into the Premiership after turning down five other hopefuls in as many weeks. Gaillard, at 38, is France's youngest Premier, an energetic and brilliant economist whose harsh fiscal measures when he was Finance Minister last summer were at least partly responsible for the defeat of the Bourgès-Manoury cabinet. Like his predecessors, Gaillard is faced with an all but insoluble problem in Algeria, and with a growing trade imbalance and accelerated inflation in Metropolitan France; like his predecessors, his parliamentary majority rests on the backing of seven parties with disparate internal and external objectives. We are very much afraid that Mr. Gaillard, no matter how able, will shortly be known as France's youngest ex-Premier.

● Scores of United Nations delegates received handsomely engraved invitations from a mysterious source last week to a party at the headquarters of the Soviet UN delegation to celebrate the "Fortieth Anniversary of the World's Most Powerful Slave Labor Empire." As entertainment, they were promised: "rock and roll, by the Presidium Dancers"; "Ivan Serov [Soviet secret police chief] and his Throat-Cuts in 'Danse Macabre,'" and, as *pièce de résistance,* that sensational international *basso profundo,* Marshal Tito, in his rendition of "East Side, West Side." Soviet officials, like Queen Victoria, were not amused.

● The Soviet Union has protested to West Berlin city authorities that the scheduling of an anti-Communist rally on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Insurrection constitutes an "unfriendly act." Communists are getting more sensitive all the time!

● We are waiting to hear from the advocates of Red China's recognition their report on Mao Tse-tung's presence and performance at Moscow's celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik coup. The substance of each of Mao's interviews was identical: the unbreakable, everlasting solidarity of Soviet China and the Soviet Union.

● Marking the end of an era that wrote a thousand heroic and forever memorable tales into naval history, the *Wisconsin,* last U.S. battleship to remain on active duty, tied up briefly in New York harbor on her way to moth balls and oblivion.

● When the resignation of Louis B. Nichols as No. 3 man of the FBI was announced the other day, there was no 21-gun journalistic salute of the sort that the Liberal Establishment automatically gives its retiring janizaries. And yet Lou Nichols had been, for a quarter of a century, one of America's most truly indispensable men—a tireless, zealous, brilliantly capable patriot, whose vast knowledge of Communist subversion made him the confidant and adviser of virtually every expert in the field. We do not know what bone-deep weariness of body or soul has caused him to step down at the age of 51; but we do know that America has lost what it cannot spare—a man who had much to give, and gave it all to his country.

● We understand that Nikita Khrushchev is sending President Eisenhower for Christmas a "do it yourself" Sputnik kit, postmarked from the moon.



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## *Political Run-Down*

The Winners:

In New Jersey—Governor Meyner, an incumbent Democrat who was challenged, ineffectively, by an Eisenhower coattail-rider, Malcolm Forbes.

In New York City—Democratic Mayor Wagner, who beat his Republican opponent by a margin of three to one.

In Virginia—a segregation-minded Democrat, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., wins the governorship hands down over Republican aspirant Theodore Roosevelt Dalton.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut—Socialist Mayor Jasper McLevy, in office for twenty-four years, is finally defeated—by a Democrat.

In New York State—Bingo is voted.

Conclusion: The voters approve of gambling—but not, this year, on Republicans.

## *More Light!*

The launching of the two Sputniks, following the Soviet announcement of the ICBM test run, has provoked an intense public analysis of the Soviet-American weapons balance. As its part in this discussion, NATIONAL REVIEW has published, and will continue to publish, a series of articles by contributors and staff members. These have expressed varied emphases and concerns.

Because there are wide gaps in confirmed data, the most immediate need is for a full accounting of the U.S. position in the weapons balance. As we go to press, President Eisenhower has inferentially promised such an accounting. But even before any authoritative word from the Administration is forthcoming, certain things are known.

Whether the orbiting of Sputnik II means—as Dr. Wernher von Braun, Germany's World War II rocket builder, has said it means—that the U.S. "will have a tough time catching up" with Russia in the race into space, it is definite that the Soviets have the ability to put lethal missiles over the industrial U.S. from bases on the other side of the globe. What is not known to the general public is whether the Russians have solved such problems as the re-entry of a missile into the friction-generating lower altitudes which might burn up a warhead before it hits the target, or whether they have developed accurate fire control devices, or whether they can manufacture ICBMs in sufficient quantity to lay down a pattern which would put both the U.S. bases and the U.S. industrial organization out of commission before there could be equally deadly retaliation.

These, as we say, are questions which should be reckoned with in an accounting—within the limits of security considerations—by the Administration. Failing such an accounting, the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee should proceed with the "searching inquiry" which Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas has proposed.

Another element in the debate which could stand authoritative ventilation is the long-term status of the Strategic Air Command. It would scarcely seem a matter for doubt that the SAC is, operationally, the dominating factor in the weapons balance at the moment. A hydrogen warhead dropped from an SAC plane would be just as lethal as a warhead sped on its way by a rocket—and as long as the SAC can take off and get through to the target the U.S. has the operational deterrent power to give Khrushchev pause. (The knowledge that atomic submarines can creep close to Russia from beneath the Arctic ice cap —see "From Pole to Polaris" below—also has its bearing on the situation.) But at some date in the future (just how far or how near we do not profess to know) the SAC will tend to become obsolescent as the sole or major deterrent. The problem thus becomes: can we match the Russians in rocketry before obsolescence of the SAC unsupported by a missile system sets in? This is another subject on which conclusions, pending authoritative information, must be tentative and open to revision. But the Administration owes Americans a candid statement on the probable life-span of SAC capabilities.

There has been hysteria—and some crawling—in Liberal quarters over the Sputniks: the abject response of Canada's Lester Pearson is a case in point. The main sin of the Liberals, however, has been to seize upon the Sputniks in order to justify such things as a demand for a complete overhauling of the American system of education at fantastic federal expense and the sort of "crash" rocket programs that would resemble mounting a horse and riding off in all directions at once. But if the sense of urgency that is abroad in the land can be translated into a firm resolve to stand up to Moscow's heightened campaign of psycho-political terror, then the excitement can be canalized to fruitful ends.

If the Administration cannot show us that its rocket program is going ahead at all possible speed, Congress owes it to the people to expose the delinquents. It has been said that the military has been prevented from giving us an ICBM ahead of Russia by civilian advisers of the White House who urged the importance of "gentlemanly" cooperation in the celebration of the International Geophysical Year. If it is true that we have neither the long-distance missile nor the artificial satellite because of a misplaced deference to international protocol, we should know it.

History, of course, refutes the concept of any



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"absolute" or "ultimate" material weapon. The only ultimate weapon is the spirit of man. We shall not be lost if Moscow is first in putting a continental rocket on the production line; nor shall we be saved if we merely outweight them, even ten times over, in mechanical devices. But the spirit of man includes the will to be forearmed—and Sputnik II must surely test that will in the perilous time to come.

## *Suez to Damascus*

A year ago President Eisenhower compelled Britain and France to break off their half-completed Suez operation, and to withdraw from the Isthmus. Although we approved neither the manner nor method of the Anglo-French action, and were dismayed at its military ineptness, NATIONAL REVIEW was one of the few publications in this country to condemn this repudiation of our two closest allies.

A considerable number of our friends and readers —a larger number, perhaps, than on any other issue since we began publication—disagreed with our view. We believe, however, that Mideastern developments have confirmed our estimate.

We argued that the President's "objectivity" would fail in its purpose of winning over Nasser, and the Arabs more generally. We held that the Arabs and the rest of the world would see only Western weakness, indecision and division. We predicted that the result must be a further and stepped-up anti-Western drive by Arab nationalists and by the hovering Communists.

And so it has been. The situation in the Middle East is today much worse than a year ago. Nasser is anti-Western still, aggressive, rearmed, and largely recovered from the licking that he took from the Israelis. (All our schemes for international control having gone down the drain, he is also in unilateral command of the Canal.) Yemen is being infiltrated by Soviet agents and arms. Syria is on the verge of transformation into a Soviet Mideastern base. Turkey, our principal ally in the region, is direly threatened.

There are reports—admittedly hard to evaluate—that Soviet arms are reaching Syria in quantities much beyond what the Syrian army can use. The suggestion is that these arms are designed for Soviet troops.

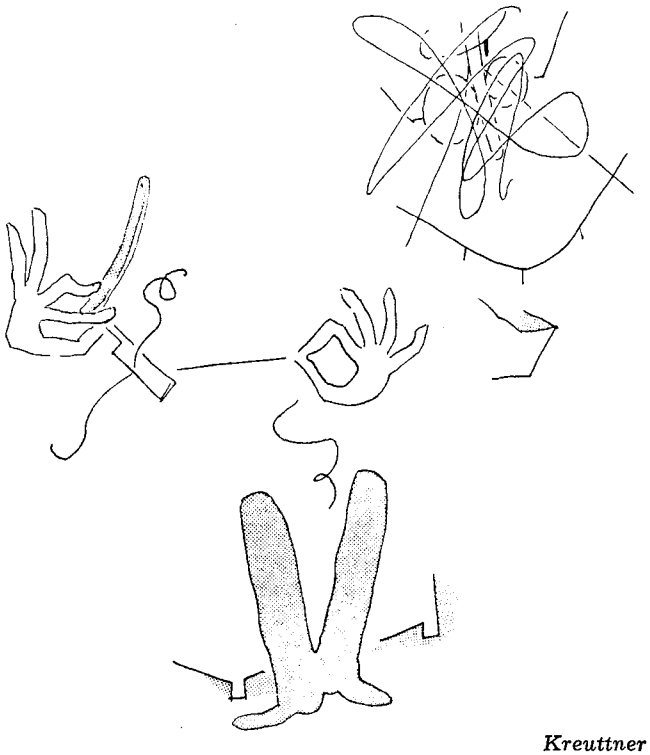
Meanwhile the Moscow accusation of a planned Turkish-U.S. attack on Syria is a classic example of a usual Communist method of motivating an attack *on* Turkey.

The Kremlin may be blowing up the immediate danger only for its current psychological purposes. It was indeed noticeable that the heat was lowered after the Eisenhower-Macmillan pledge of support for Turkey in case of an armed attack. Still, it is quite possible that Khrushchev, in adventurous reaction to the glories of Sputnik and the perils of his internecine struggle, may decide to leap in now with both feet: by either occupying Syria outright or attacking Turkey and/or Jordan.

If this happens, what do we do? Will the Washington news dispatches once more tell about the Administration's "surprise" and "shock"? Will the President, after a few days, call in "his advisers" for "consultation"? Will Ambassador Lodge make an indignant speech to the UN General Assembly? This time there can be no conceivable excuse for such a vacuous response.

It would not be simple to give an effective answer to a Syrian coup. An answer would necessarily pose the direct *risk* of general war against the *certainty* of losing the Middle East. So weighty an answer could be responsibly given only if, beforehand, a full analysis had reached a resolute decision.

The President will be out of the country a month from now. Partly because of the absence of the commander from the command post, that may be the moment of maximum danger. Let us pray that the decision will soon be, if it has not already been, made; and that, unlike the *post factum* decision on Suez, it will be based on realities, not on semantic abstractions.



*Kreuttner*

**"Look at the decision on the Smith Act violators this way: Suppose *you* operated a well-established subversive group, then were suddenly hauled up in court and treated as though you had *just organized* that group!"**



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## *Puzzle for Khrushchev*

NATIONAL REVIEW feels sorry for the dog. Yet it is with mixed emotions that we contemplate the protests which the humane societies of the West have been forwarding to Moscow deploring cruelty to an animal which must have lived a full aeon of terror before perishing in the Soviet moon.

The protests will certainly fail of their purpose; the next time the Soviet authorities wish to treat a dog as expendable they will do it without a tremor. But what must the Moscow bureaucrats have thought about the West as the protests of its dog-lovers poured in? Could they have been wondering that the humane societies were perfectly willing to let pass the murder of three million kulaks in a famous agricultural "experiment" of the thirties? Could they have been marveling that a dog has evoked more *registered* sympathy than thousands of dead Hungarians or twenty million liquidated Chinese?

Queer people, these Westerners: their humane societies send dogs to picket the UN over the forcible consignment of the mutt to Muttnik, yet they send no one to demand Soviet expulsion from the society of nations when millions of human beings are "expended" in experiments far more grisly than the dispatch of a four-legged beast to outer space.

## *From Pole to Polaris*

Four meagerly publicized events of the last week of October fit into a formidable pattern.

1. *Nautilus,* the world's first nuclear-powered submarine, returned to home port after a cruise that included five and a half days underneath the Arctic ice pack.

2. *Skate,* the third nuclear submarine, successfully completed its first extended trip seven months ahead of schedule.

3. The keel of the twelfth nuclear submarine, *Scorpion,* of the extraordinary new *Skipjack* class, was laid in the Electric Boat Company yards at Groton, Conn., with construction ready to start on seven more there and elsewhere in the next few months.

4. Polaris, a 1,500-mile intermediate range ballistic missile, designed for launching from a deck at the surface, or under the surface, of the sea, went into production, after successfully finishing all preliminary tests.

The meaning translates as follows into the language of strategy:

From movable platforms that can remain for indefinite periods under the polar ice, immune to all present methods of detection or destruction, the United States will be able to place the majority of important Soviet targets within range of nuclear annihilation. As explained by Ansel E. Talbert, the able military analyst of the *New York Herald Tribune,* nuclear submarines (in which we have "an unquestioned lead of several years over the Soviet Union"), armed with Polaris missiles, will be able to cruise "directly under the entire North Polar ice pack" and "to cross at will from the side opposite North America to the one opposite the long northern coast line of the Soviet Union."

The propaganda glare in which the Sputniks flew almost blotted out the advent of this new weapons system that has been produced by a steadily applied application of our normal knowledge, skills, and resources. As Mr. Talbert mentions, however, "the Kremlin"—in spite of the absence of headlines—"is unlikely to delude itself."

## *Truth Wins a Round*

Examine the fine print in the current accounts of the tiff between Mr. Nehru and his Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari, and you may begin to share our doubts about current interpretations of the incident. Mr. Nehru did take exception to Mr. Krishnamachari's remarks to a *New York Times* reporter —to the effect that India's fight is also a fight against Communism, and that the Soviet Union and Red China will probably "help" India's Communists when the time comes for them to make their revolution. He did reaffirm his faith in peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and Red China. Mr. Krishnamachari did step forward to express "regret" about his statements. And pressure by India's Communists did, undoubtedly, figure prominently in the incident.

Note, however, that Mr. Krishnamachari's regret was *about* his statements, not *for* them ("I regret the embarrassment caused, etc."); that he did not —despite the *Times*' headlines—disavow any part of them; that he stands before the world as a symbol, more conspicuous now than before, of those forces in India that know Mr. Nehru lies when he says there is no such thing today as international Communism; and that he is still Finance Minister. Mr. Nehru, in a word, did not dare to fire him; and the *Times* has no business concluding that "the Communists came out the winner in this political round." The winner was something called the truth; and the truth will one day win a big round against Mr. Nehru, and silence him once and for all.

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NATIONAL REVIEW'S editor, William F. Buckley, Jr., will be back from Europe November 10. His regular column, "The Ivory Tower," has *not* been discontinued, as some of our readers have feared—it will be resumed upon his return.



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# NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

## *Checkmate?*

California's Governor Knight has now recovered from the "flu," and has confirmed reports that he is a candidate for the United States Senate. We may therefore note the occurrence of a major political coup—engineered in this case by Richard M. Nixon.

That the first news of Knight's intention to withdraw from the gubernatorial contest with Senator Knowland came from Nixon quarters was not of course, happenstance; it was an integral part of the Vice President's strategy that he should get credit for bringing order out of the chaos into which Republican politics in California had fallen. But winning the role of "peacemaker" is not the sole measure of Nixon's triumph, not by any means. An accurate measure requires a glance backward to the situation Nixon found himself in last spring when Knowland announced his retirement from the Senate.

Nixon's information at that time as to the Senator's future intentions was the same as everyone else's. Knowland would certainly go after Goodie Knight's job in 1958. And later on he would presumably exploit the governorship to maximum advantage for Presidential purposes—on the latter point Nixon could afford no other assumption. That this strategy represented a grave threat to Nixon's own Presidential ambitions was inescapable: not only was Knowland his chief rival, he was moving into a position where he could deny Nixon the support of his home state.

There was nothing Nixon could do to prevent Knowland from becoming governor. Knowland was immeasurably stronger than Knight—so strong that Nixon could not have tipped the scales even if he were to swallow his pride and throw his support to the Governor. What Nixon *could* do, however, was to try to whittle down the impact of a successful Knowland campaign. He has already made two moves toward that end.

The first was to fall in line with the adage, at least as useful in politics as in war: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." As soon as Knowland trained his sights on Sacramento, the Nixon camp hurried out the story that Nixon had no objections; later reports asserted that the Vice President was actually behind the Senator—had even, some said, strongly influenced Knowland's decision. The purpose was to make sure that any victory Knowland might gain over Knight would not be interpreted as a setback for Nixon.

The second move was to prevent Knowland from gaining a victory over Knight. If Knowland could be handed the nomination without a contest and thus without a clear-cut demonstration of his strength in the Party, he would be denied the boost in prestige he was hoping for and his capacity to have things his way with the state organization in 1960 would be substantially reduced. For Nixon, Knight's withdrawal was the obvious solution. The Governor understandably has not accepted the solution cheerfully. But accept it he has *had* to—as between a humiliated Senator and a defeated Governor, there is hardly a choice.

Nixon can now openly endorse Knowland's candidacy without offending any faction of the Party. He will of course do so, and will undoubtedly campaign energetically in Knowland's behalf in 1958. Which will put Governor Knowland in the position of ingrate and disrupter of the Party should he *then* choose to challenge the Vice President's Presidential aspirations. It may not yet be checkmate; but at least it is "check" and Knowland's move.

*What to expect in Paris.* For many moons before Sputnik a powerful group in the State Department has been urging the transformation of NATO from a mere military alliance into—well, not into a real *government,* one is assured, but into something, anyway, reaching in that direction. On various occasions Secretary Dulles himself has encouraged the idea; and on others (*i.e.,* under questioning by conservative Senators) he has repudiated it. This group has now gained new allies, and may find its plans realized sooner than it dared hope.

The Administration, more so than ever after Sputnik II, is searching desperately for "theater" to offset the Soviet Union's moon-missile achievements. That was the purpose, of course, of the Eisenhower-Macmillan decision to sponsor a meeting in December of the NATO heads of government. By itself, however, a powwow of presidents and prime ministers would not be terribly exciting. Nor could the Administration hope to provide a propaganda stunner with a joint announcement on pooling atomic information, or on further integration of the allied military effort, or on reallocation of military chores. These projects have already been talked about, and besides, there is not a great deal more the West can do by way of coordinating its military effort (as opposed to *increasing* it).

What to look for next month is an Eisenhower proposal for achieving greater Western unity in non-military, *i.e.,* in political and economic affairs. The proposal would recommend machinery for institutionalizing Western decision-making within the NATO framework; the machinery would deal with other than military matters and would be advertised as "subject to the constitutional processes" of member NATO states. If the proposal is actually put forward, Eisenhower will argue that in order to resist the Communist world effectively, the Free World must act as one. The idea, its proponents say, has a clear precedent in psychological warfare (though they do not suggest it be carried this far): when Winston Churchill, after the fall of Paris in 1940, tried to shore up sagging France by dramatically proposing to weld the British and French people into a single nation.

Granted—we may observe parenthetically—that emergency measures are in order: Churchill learned that Britain's salvation did not lie with a fatigued and defeatist ally, but with the military and moral strength of his own country.



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# *Report from the Far East*

**All over the Far East, says a recent visitor, the vacillation of U.S. policy and the failure of U.S. propaganda are undermining American prestige**

MARVIN LIEBMAN

*(On July 15, 1957, Mr. Marvin Liebman, Secretary of the Committee of One Million, embarked on a tour of fourteen countries in Asia and Europe. He talked to anti-Communist leaders, U.S. diplomats and government officials everywhere he went. Here is his report on six vital Asian nations.* THE EDITORS)

*Tokyo*

The Communists are making great headway in this country. The Soviet Embassy in Tokyo is openly subsidizing leading newspaper reporters, labor leaders, student leaders, intellectuals and even members of the powerful Socialist Party. They work directly through various Japanese front groups, rather than through their local Communist Party which is relatively small. Major propaganda emphasis is on anti-Americanism and on convincing the Japanese that their future lies in close relations with Asia, *i.e.,* Communist China and the "neutralist" countries, rather than with the West.

The pressure and influence exerted by the Communist front organizations are tremendous. Prime Minister Kishi's Government is, at the present time, Western-oriented. It can withstand leftist pressure only so long as the United States maintains a *firm* anti-Communist policy. Any seeming weakness on our part, whether it be through our government or even through the public utterances of government leaders or influential American publications and organizations, presents the left with potent ammunition. "The Americans are weakening before Communist strength. Soon they will have to bow to the power of the Chinese People's Republic. Japan must make friends with the Chinese People's Republic now, or else it will be too late"—so goes the Communist line.

A case in point was the issue of trade and Red China. No Japanese I spoke to was under the illusion that trade with Red China would help the Japanese economy in any way. All realized that trade with Red China is a political rather than an economic gesture since Peiping does not have the dollars to make it economically beneficial. In spite of mounting leftist pressure, Kishi's anti-trade policy even prevailed for a few days after the British had decided to drop the embargo. Then Senator Magnuson urged a "re-examination of United States trade relations with Communist China." The Communists used Magnuson's statement as their major ammunition. This, they said, was a "trial balloon" which indicated that the United States would soon trade with Red China, thus leaving Japan out in the cold. President Eisenhower's statement on Red China trade, made at a press conference a few days after Senator Magnuson released his statement, seemed to confirm the Communist claim. Under this propaganda barrage, and in spite of Ambassador MacArthur's efforts, the Japanese government lifted the embargo on trade with Red China.

The Free Asia Association is the only organized anti-Communist movement in Japan. It is small and ineffective due to lack of funds with which to operate. This organization cannot hope to compete with the millions of dollars spent through the Soviet Embassy. To the best of my knowledge, the United States has not helped the Free Asia Association, or any other Japanese anti-Communist individuals or groups in any way although they have repeatedly requested our assistance.

For some reason we have not seen fit to let our Japanese friends speak for us, and for themselves, against the common enemy. Our information and propaganda program in Japan is totally ineffective in comparison to the pro-Communist propaganda. We make the major error of attempting to "sell" the United States to the Japanese people. All of our propaganda that I saw bears the signature of our government. The Communists do not make the error of giving the Japanese what they think they need. Instead, they let the Japanese do the job for them.

We must—and this is most important—show the Japanese that we mean business by taking some real action to help them out of their economic dilemma. We cannot very well urge Japan not to trade with Red China if we are not willing to permit the Japanese to trade with us. Just as we expect other nations to make sacrifices in the struggle against the common enemy, so must we be prepared to make similar sacrifices. The neutralization of Japan would be a major blow to our Far Eastern defenses. We must prevent this at all cost.

## *Korea: No Truce*

*Seoul*

The major impression I had of Seoul was that it was a city very much at war. It is only two minutes jet flight from the Communist lines to Seoul; the front is about thirty minutes away. Life goes on, but I felt a tension and a readiness for any eventuality wherever I went.

The main preoccupation of Koreans of all walks of life is with the unification of their country as soon as possible. From the refugees that still filter through and from reports from underground sources, the Koreans know that their families and friends in the north are living in slavery and grinding poverty.

In my interview with President Syngman Rhee, I found him to be a man of strong convictions, vigorous



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and articulate. I was confirmed in my feeling of his importance as a leader, not only of his people but also in the fight against Communism in Asia.

Here are some of the points he made:

1. Democracy and freedom cannot fight for themselves. No concept can fight for itself—the lovers of freedom must do the fighting against any force which would threaten this concept, using every method at their command.

2. The United States does not realize it is in a war. There is no truce in Korea or any place else in the world. Communists never stop fighting—yesterday with guns, today with words, money and subversion, tomorrow with guns again. United

States policy has consistent grave contradictions which dishearten those who depend on the power and friendship of the United States. The Geneva talks between Red China and the United States caused America to lose face and continue to build up the prestige of its enemies.

I also paid a courtesy call on Vice President Chang Myon. He lives behind barricaded walls because of two attempts on his life. In comparison to Rhee, I found Chang to be a scholarly and gentle man. He, too, is dedicated to unification, but he expressed himself in far milder terms than President Rhee. The gist of his remarks was: To survive, Korea must be unified. The Koreans have no real friends that they can count on, other than themselves. The people in the north are trapped by the Communists, but even among the Communist officials there are some good Koreans. It would be possible to work with them if we had the opportunity.

My interview with the Vice President convinces me that the United States position in Korea will be in great jeopardy when either the Vice President or any other political leader takes over—unless the country is unified and anti-Communist beforehand.

## *Free China*

*Taipei*

Of all the Asian countries I visited, Taiwan showed the most progress and seemed to have made the most effective use of our aid. This is not to underrate the progress made in the other free nations of Asia or to suggest that our aid in these areas is not effective. I make this statement to express, as strongly as possible, how impressed I was with Free China.

Every one I met on my tour of the Island, from Taipei in the north to Quemoy in the south—farmers, workers, students, factory managers, government officials, intellectuals—was dedicated to the anti-Communist struggle and to the liberation of his fellow countrymen on the Mainland. It would be erroneous to suggest that the Taiwanese, born and bred on the Island, are eager to fight their way to the Mainland just for the sake of liberating their fellow Chinese. However, through political indoctrination, and because of their new economic well-being, the Taiwanese recognize that their very existence and freedom is in jeopardy so long as the Communists hold the Mainland. The young Taiwanese now being drafted into the army of Free China, may be considered as dedicated as the Mainlanders themselves.

I had the impression that some members of our Embassy in Taipei disagree with our policy of keeping the Free Chinese armed forces as purely defensive units. They feel that our insistence on retaining this strongest Asian fighting group as a defensive unit neglects the potentialities of the Free Chinese as partners in any armed struggle. They feel it lowers the prestige of Free China

throughout Asia and particularly in the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia which have only the alternative: Red China or Free China.

I observed the tremendous industrial development being made throughout Taiwan with the assistance of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration (ICA). Many landlords have, as they were urged, used the money they were paid for their land (in a successful land reform) for investment in industrial development. We see the Chinese farmer and his water buffalo cultivating his lands to the very edge of the factory wall. Workers are better off than at any other time in the history of the Far East.

Education in Taiwan is free and compulsory. Thousands of overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia are coming to Taiwan for higher education. Several years ago, many young Chinese from Southeast Asia went to Red Chinese universities, lured by free transportation, free housing and even liberal allowances while they were studying. Many were held in Red China, but some returned to their homes with stories of intellectual repression, cursory professional training and long hours spent in "public confessions" and attendance at political meetings. These reports helped to change the pattern which now sees thousands of young overseas Chinese coming to Taiwan to study in freedom.

In Taiwan I observed one of the typical deficiencies in our aid and propaganda program. The Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) is the only radio network on Taiwan and it has a vast and untapped po-



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tential audience throughout Southeast Asia and on the Mainland. Yet our support of it so far has been limited to the loan of two experts and approximately $2,000 in cash. This is little or nothing as against our expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars on ineffective propaganda which can never have the impact of Free Chinese speaking to their own countrymen directly.

## *Creeping Neutralism*

*Saigon*

The survival of Vietnam as a nation is largely based on keeping the Communists at bay while it strengthens its economy and defenses. To achieve this objective, United States aid is crucial. The Vietnamese have therefore cast in their lot with us. Because of their complete dependence on the United States, they watch the developments in our Far Eastern policy with great interest. Any seeming weakness in this policy causes tremendous concern.

President Ngo Dinh Diem can properly be called the father of his country. Like Syngman Rhee, President Ngo molded a nation in the midst of Communist aggression and maintains it with hostile Communist troops constantly threatening his northern borders. But whereas Rhee speaks of unification in immediate terms, President Ngo is thinking in terms of ten to fifteen years. I believe Ngo's desire to build South Vietnam first, and then think about unifying his country, is based on his fear of a United States withdrawal which would leave him to his own resources. In the two hours I spent with him, I felt he had strong reservations about our leadership in the world struggle against Communism. He saw indications that the United States was moving toward "neutralism" (his own words), and cited recent statements by Senators Magnuson, Humphrey and Fulbright as confirmation of this belief.

A high American official with whom I also talked appeared discouraged over what he felt to be creeping neutralism in Vietnam. He confirmed my impression that such neutralism was caused by what seemed to the Vietnamese to be a vacillating and contradictory American policy in Asia. This official also criticized our propaganda and information programs and said we should be using Asians to influence other Asians, rather than attempting to have Americans influence Asians.

He also made the interesting point that we are neglecting to build up the prestige of Taiwan in Southeast Asia. He said Taiwan was the one country which shows how American aid can be used in an effective manner and how a free society can be built which gives the people the benefits the Communists promise but never deliver. He emphasized that the admission of Red China to the UN would have immediate and serious consequences in Southeast Asia.

## *Burma Turns Communist*

*Rangoon*

Of all the countries I visited, I found Burma to be the most alien. This was not because of different social customs but rather because of an official atmosphere which seemed completely unfriendly to the concept of freedom and the Free World.

Rangoon appeared to be facing more serious economic difficulties than any other Asian capital I saw. The country is on the verge of an economic collapse which has been brought about directly by the various trade agreements between the U Nu Government and the Communist bloc. The Burmese currency has no exchange value outside the country. Although there is talk of "democracy" in Burma, I learned that this is façade. The Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League controls roughly 90 per cent of the vote in the parliament and maintains its power through bribery, police action and imprisonment of opposition leaders.

Premier U Nu, in spite of ever-weaker denials, has cast in his lot with the Communists. The Soviet and Communist Chinese embassies in Rangoon openly foster Communism and solidly control the youth and labor movements, the majority of the overseas Chinese and, most important, influential government leaders. Even if U Nu wished to dissociate himself from the Communists at this time (which is wishful thinking on the part of many Americans) he is in far too deep to accomplish this.

There is an anti-Communist, anti-Marxist opposition in Burma. But the official position of the United States has been to support the Government of U Nu and to ignore the aspirations, and even the existence, of the opposition. Our propaganda and information program in Burma is based on what the U Nu Government wants. And yet, where is the anti-Communist opposition to seek help except from the United States? Instead of helping the people who would stand with us, we are supporting a government openly, and indirectly, through our propaganda, which stands with our enemies. To the anti-Communist in Burma, this seems to be a strange contradiction. We are losing Burma to the Communists through default.

## *Positive Program Needed*

My conclusions are:

The future of Asia is dependent on the strength or weakness of the United States. If our policy continues to be weak and vacillating, there is no doubt that the Communists will take over. If, on the other hand, we stand on a firm and positive program aimed at strengthening the independent nations of Asia and encouraging the destruction of Communist power with every means at our command, then, and only then, can freedom triumph in that part of the world.

To carry forward such a positive program we must strengthen the economic and military position of all nations prepared to stand with us in this fight. We must encourage the revolutionary spirit on the Chinese Mainland by supporting the liberation aims of the Free Chinese on Taiwan, and by refusing to have any dealings whatsoever with the Peiping regime which has enslaved the Chinese people. We must support all anti-Communist groups and individuals in Asia in the formulation and implementation of a vigorous and positive anti-Communist information and propaganda campaign, using Asians to speak to Asians. And finally, and most important, we must coordinate our anti-Communist policy in Asia with similar policy in other areas, in an effort to counteract the single and consolidated threat of international Communism.



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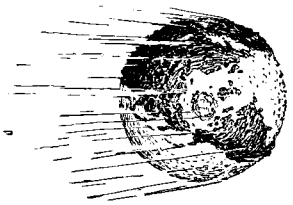

# The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

## *What Is the Kremlin Up To?*

In any strategic contest—whether of sport, business or war—you improve your chances if you can fathom the intentions of your opponent. Is he really trying to clip me in the face with his left, or is that just a feint while he moves in for a right to the body? Is my competitor going to reduce or advance his prices when he brings out his new model? Has the enemy begun to move on Vienna, or is he covering a retreat to the border? To figure out an answer will not guarantee a win, but will certainly better the odds. At least it will enable me to make sure that my counter-action hinders rather than helps my opponent—that I am evading, not stepping into, his blow.

Suppose, then, we try to figure out what the Soviet leaders are currently up to in connection with rockets, H-bombs, missiles, satellites and so on.

Looking back, we can see that they began a planned series of moves, a *campaign,* a little more than a year ago. First came the broadcast warning during the Anglo-French Suez affair that Soviet rockets were all set to go against France and Britain. In succeeding months threats of nuclear annihilation were—very publicly—directed against Norway, Denmark, Holland and other countries whose territory might be used (or is being used) for Western missile sites.

In contrast to earlier practice, Moscow began giving considerable and quick publicity to nuclear tests. (In the past the first and sometimes the only public reports of Soviet tests had been announced by our AEC.)

Then a few months ago, with much fanfare, there came a big announcement of a "successful" ICBM test, followed by stories of hitting the prescribed target area, and solving the warhead and re-entry problems.

On October 4 the first Sputnik was shot into the sky with a surrounding blaze of organized publicity, and followed by the flying dog-coffin on November 3. These straddled the missile threats against Turkey and the U.S. unless they dropped their "planned invasion" of Syria.

### *Psycho-Political Terror*

When you put the pieces together, the pattern becomes fairly clear. It can hardly be supposed that Moscow is running an information bureau that as a contribution to general human knowledge is transmitting the facts about Soviet armament. It is axiomatic that *all* nations conceal and distort the facts, both favorable and unfavorable, about their military resources; and no other nation has a more consistent record of deception than the Soviet Union.

Nor is it conceivable that the primary Soviet objective is to stir us to mount a better (as distinguished from a merely more expensive) armament program of our own, even if this should be an unavoidable by-product of what the Communists are doing. As we now know, moreover, U.S. intelligence has for some while been reasonably well informed on Soviet missile and satellite development.

Actually, the Kremlin has been composing a medley of fact and fancy about armament into *a massive campaign of psycho-political terror.* The Kremlin's objective in this campaign is to jack up its own ranks, and to bulldoze, cow and paralyze the ranks of its opponents.

I would judge that the priority target has been the population of the Soviet Empire itself. The present Soviet regime undoubtedly does need bolstering in the minds of its own subjects. An aura of supposed military invincibility can hide a good many failures and weaknesses. The principal further target is Western Europe (very much including West Germany). The Communists wish to terrorize the European nations into castrating NATO, loosening U.S. ties, and renouncing all idea of military resistance to Soviet advance. The campaign simultaneously acts, it is hoped by the Kremlin, to keep the smaller, neutralist or uncommitted nations from swinging Westward.

Finally, one branch of the campaign is specifically directed as support for the expanding Soviet thrust into the Middle East.

### *Music to Kremlin Ears*

As in the case of previous and comparable political warfare operations, this terror campaign would not get far if it were being pushed only by the Communists themselves and their fellow travelers. The Communists must be able to count on the unwitting cooperation of "bourgeois" individuals and institutions, in particular the verbalizing "opinion makers" of press, TV, pulpit and platform. In the present case, the Sputnik coup, in itself of minor scientific and military but major psycho-political importance, was a wonderfully clever link in the plan to seduce a maximum of such cooperation.

And the plan is working. Ask yourself what response Khrushchev would have wanted from American publicists in order to further the campaign's objectives. The answer is self-evident once the nature of the campaign is understood. It is the response that he is 95 per cent getting: a shrill, often hysterical clamor that Soviet armament in the "decisive" weapons is now "ahead" and will soon achieve "supremacy"; that the American missile *et al.* program is a hopeless mess.

How delightedly the Presidium must be reading the American press these days. For now they can say (it is not even necessary for them to say it) to London, Paris or Bonn, Ankara, Damascus or New Delhi: "We've got them licked. You don't have to take *our* word for it. Here it is from Senators Symington *and* Bridges; the Republican *New York Herald Tribune* and Democrat *Washington Post & Times-Herald;* the columnists from the Alsops to Sokolsky; the TVers from Murrow to Lewis; the magazines from the *Nation* to, yes, to NATIONAL REVIEW. So come up and see us some time, gentlemen, and we'll give you the terms for your surrender."



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# *Psychology—or Poor Teaching?*

**The author's observation of a schoolroom overcrowded but quiet seems to prove that discipline is the key to the reading problems of children**

ABE KALISH

Can the widespread inability of public school children to read be explained by psychology? Recently, the director of a remedial education center in the City of Washington listed "six broad types of learning blocks that often appear in children of average or above-average intelligence."

Two of the "blocks" are poor eyesight and poor hearing. The others include "cross-dominance," which we are told means "sighting with the wrong eye, so that the child sees 'was' instead of 'saw.'" Immaturity is listed as another. To quote the expert, this means "trying to teach a child the most civilized art we have invented before he is ready for it. Many perfectly normal children mature slowly and just aren't set for first grade work until they are seven or older."

The fifth "block" develops when parents put too much pressure on the child to succeed. Finally, there is the "block" resulting from "a combination of the other five, which makes a child cut up in class and pretend he just doesn't care about learning to read."

How pertinent is even the most complete list of such "blocks" in explaining present conditions? In a number of our large cities, for example, where scholarship records have become public, as many as 50 per cent of the public school pupils reach the ninth grade with reading ability one to six years behind what the authorities themselves define as normal.

## *Exacting Test*

To test whether psychologists can explain poor reading, or whether other reasons, such as poor teaching methods, might not have more significance, I went, as I have in the past, to the ready-made pilot model for the public school system, the parochial schools. As in most other areas, the parochial schools in the Washington district use phonics as the basic means for teaching children to read. Some of them also use a system of pictures to help the children remember the sounds.

To make my test as exacting as possible, I purposely sought out the parochial school which was located in the poorest section: the Holy Name School in the industrial Northeast part of Washington. One third of the pupil's parents or guardians are unable to pay the school's tuition of three dollars a month. About one third of the pupils are colored.

There were here two teaching handicaps on which I had not counted. The school was very crowded. Each of the first-grade classes had 64 pupils. Further, in contrast with public schools which do not take children until they are six, almost half of the children in the first grade here entered when they were five.

Despite these difficulties, I found the teacher, Sister Maria Vincent, unharried, smiling and obviously enjoying her work. The children, too, were very much absorbed in their studies and recitations. But as soon as I entered the room, they all rose and greeted me with a bright "Good morning." The girls curtsied, and the boys bowed.

I found that the children were hurried along in their reading as fast as their ability permitted. The 25 children in the first reading group were near the end of their third book when I visited them during the last week of May. Each pupil in this group read a few lines of a story, "The Little Duck Talks," which began: "One fine day a yellow duck went for a walk along the road. Soon he met a gray kitten. Mew, mew, said Gray Kitten." Only one child showed any hesitation while reading. I could see and hear him making the sound of each letter to form the words he did not know.

When the children finished reading the story, the teacher asked them to close their books. She then fired at them a battery of questions. "What sort of day was it? Where was the duck walking?, etc." The children answered them all, quickly and correctly.

The second reading group had 23 pupils; the third sixteen. This group had reached in its reading book the text, "Judy said, 'This cookie is for Tim. But he cannot eat it, so I will eat it for him.'" Six children could not read these sentences well enough to be promoted. According to the teacher and the school's principal, Mother Maria Pace, this is the usual number (10 per cent) of first-graders kept back each year because of poor reading ability.

Only one of the six slow children seemed to have a serious enough problem to require outside help. He was a boy who had started school when he was five. Though he had a very high IQ, he was poor in reading. The teacher told me that a doctor had recently tested his hearing. She thought that a disrupted home life might be affecting the child's school work.

## *No Mysterious Talent*

At any rate, the study would indicate that while psychology cannot be dismissed entirely, it is distinctly a minor factor in explaining the great number of present-day reading failures. Nor would it seem that reading ability is the great, mysterious talent that some people make it out to be. Quite the contrary, in fact, for reading (in contrast to writing which in-

(*Continued on p. 447*)



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## A Westminster Letter

# *The Left Understands the Left*

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

The world is randomly streaked with comings and goings—the evidence of an intense activity, taking place largely out of sight. Sometimes, we catch glimpses of its passage. They are curiously suggestive. Usually they ask more than they tell. The comers and goers are, in general, public persons, but not, as a rule, official; though they may have been official a few moments ago, and may be official again a few minutes later. Such a public figure goes privately from America to India or Yugoslavia, for example—and sees whom; and what was said? A Soviet national comes to the United States in some unnoticed delegation, or one that is scarcely noticed, and, in any case, almost instantly forgotten. And, again, sees whom; and what was said? We are unlikely ever to know.

These half-glimpsed flittings fascinate by all they suggest, but do not tell. We can do little more than note them, though we may guess that, in the course of them, some little thread has been connected with some other thread, which, if we could see the whole web of the history of our time, might bear surprisingly on much that puzzles the mind about the underlying design.

Not long ago, I came on a little news item, dropped in more or less as filler—the brief news that Mr. Aneurin Bevan, on a recent trip to the Crimea, had been the house-guest of Mrs. Nikita Khrushchev. Presumably it was treated more fully elsewhere, but this was all that came my way. I found it a little nugget—one of those unnoticed bits of living history (unnoticed, certainly, by thousands living around me), which, like a bead of radium, lights up shoals of darkness, though the nature of radium remains a riddle, and what we see by its glow chiefly perplexes.

Mrs. Khrushchev perplexes. She is the wife of a man whose name, a year or so ago, was all but unknown to the West, but who in some six months has emerged as one of the most powerful men alive. The West knows so little about his wife that the discovery that she exists at all was something of a scoop. It is said that—another victim of "the cult of personality"—she passed some years in a Siberian slave labor camp. Khrushchev, meanwhile, stayed at home, as Stalin's Paramount Chief in the Ukraine or in the powerful Moscow Party section. He seems to have been able, or willing, to rescue his wife only after the Georgian's death. Some link this large restraint with the gossip that makes Elena Furtseva Mrs. Khrushchev's great rival. It seems to be true that Khrushchev moved his wife back from Siberia not long before he moved Furtseva into the Praesidium of the Soviet Communist Party.

Such Suetonian tales, perhaps a little true and largely silly, usually predispose us toward the wife. So does Mrs. Khrushchev's apolitical appearance. She looks like the type of peasant woman whom a Russian once described to me as: "A meal sack with a rope tied round the middle." (Of course, *that* Russian was not a Communist, but a Socialist Revolutionist; as solemn heads everywhere know, humor is the seed of heresy.)

Mrs. Khrushchev is burlier than the type, which tends to softness. In that plain, earthy face is read a vigor of the twofold kind that will rush in tears to rescue a kitten drowning in a rain-barrel, while snatching up, on her way, a chicken whose head she will, without pausing in her rush, tweak off, with the evening meal in mind. Of course, there is nothing exclusively Russian in that; peasants everywhere act much alike. Yet the Russian peasant does seem to have a special dialectic talent for combining opposites. A Yiddish writer summed it up to me this way: "A Russian peasant is a man who will go to endless pains to murder his grandmother by burning her alive in her hut. But then he remembers that the canary is also inside, and, at peril of his life, plunges into the flames to save the bird." A good deal that happens inside Russia is scarcely comprehensible in any other terms.

Yet I prefer something else. A former Russian anarchist, then old and gravely ailing, once showed me a little photograph of himself, taken in Tsarist days when he was in Siberian exile. In it, the sick man, stooping beside me over the picture, was seen as a youth, seated by a window filled with potted plants, in a Siberian *isba*. He was wearing a collared Russian blouse, and the lightly melancholy smile proper to his age, and to the revolutionist of that other age. The old man beside me mused: "The Siberians are not a mellow people, like the Russians. But, you see—there are flowers in the window. So, you see"—and here his voice dropped into that dying fall in which the Russian voice catches at times the weight of all this weary, unintelligible world—"so, you see, there is something gentle in those people, too."

### *What Did They Talk About?*

Perhaps there is something gentle in Mrs. Khrushchev, too, if you are lucky enough not to be a chicken at meal time. What suffering she must have known and seen—revolution, civil war, famine, purges, murder of classes, nations, friends, world war, terror, terror, terror, such as hunting and hunted animals live in hourly—and, at last, a slave. This Lady Macbeth from Mtsensk might also say: "I have supped full with horrors." Is that what she said to Aneurin Bevan?

For, of course, it was his entrance under her battlements that made the news item seem to me a nugget. What was he doing in that galley? What was said across the *pertsovkas*? Aneurin Bevan, it is generally supposed, will be Britain's foreign minister—perhaps its next one—if the Labor Party comes to power, as it may do in two years time or less. (In Britain, prices are up 50 per cent in seven years; interest rates as high as 7, some say 8 per cent; gold and dollar reserves down $517 million in two months; good growing weather for Socialism.) Did they talk about that? Language would have been no barrier; they share a basic language. Keynes is a dialect of Marx not too greatly different than Slovene, say, is from Russian.

Did they talk about what, as foreign



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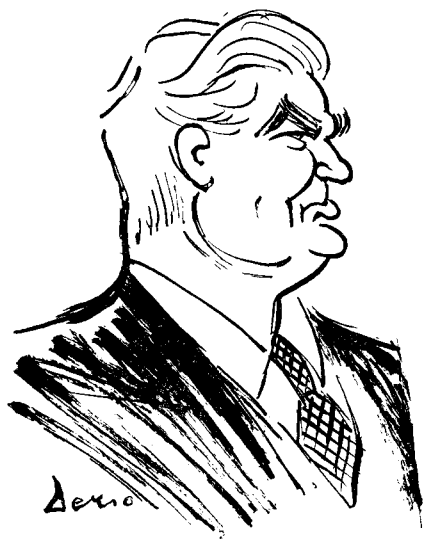
minister, Bevan might do to shoehorn Communist China into the UN; to pluck some feathers from the mutually detested conservative, the German Chancellor Adenauer; to coax American air bases out of Britain; to curb American thermonuclear prowess? It all falls under the plausible head of "relieving world tensions."

Or did they discuss common housekeeping details—the theoretical developments now being argued, heatedly within Western socialism, violently within Communism? The nub of that debate is the question of how some individual freedom can still be had, and how much, while still having socialism. The degree to which Communism and socialism can approach each other over that bridge underlies one of the strategies implied in the theses of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Did they discuss the tactical shift within British socialism whereby the Labor Party, with an eye to votes and



much else, has shelved outright nationalization, at least for a while, in favor of a Socialist government's buying into key industry as majority stockholder; thus letting the old managers continue to do the work they do, in general, so much better than Socialist bureaucrats—namely, that of managing their own business, but as hirelings of the Socialist State? We can only guess. We are unlikely ever to know.

But we know this: Aneurin Bevan has long been a spokesman of that section of British socialism which has shrilly demanded that Britain's Conservative Government cease its development of thermonuclear weapons. "I see no purpose," Bevan recently (and shrilly) confided to Prime Minister Nehru about the H-Bomb, "in Britain arming herself with that useless weapon."

## *Turnabout at Home*

We live and learn, especially if we have been to Mrs. Khrushchev's. After his Russian visit, Mr. Bevan reversed his field to such effect that a motion putting the Labor Party on record against thermonuclear development was voted down 5 to 1 at the Party's latest Congress, with Mr. Bevan himself steering the steamroller amidst shouts of: "Turncoat," "Traitor," from that plangent minority which never learns that to gain power is what political parties first of all exist for. Why this turnabout? Well, you can scarcely expect an average Briton to vote for you as Socialist if, by doing so, he must also vote against his own thermonuclear self-defense. We are also told that, in Russia, Khrushchev gave Britain's presumptive foreign minister some specific Socialist advice: "Don't give up your Bomb and leave a vacuum." A vacuum? That is to say: Don't leave the United States, the one great power uncommitted to socialism, as the one thermonuclear power in the West.

Beyond that, what does this mean? I can only tell you what I think it means. Around 1951, one of the British Socialist leaders—Mr. Hugh Dalton, if I remember rightly—was urging on a Labor Party gathering a more conciliatory line toward the Soviet Union. In clinching his plea, he said: "The Left understands the Left." Yes, that is the crux of the matter. It is to say that, in the showdown, despite all brotherly invective and despite all brotherly arm-twisting, socialism still has more in common with Communism than either of these two has with conservatism. "Do not give up your Bomb and leave a vacuum." How that might work out with Mr. Bevan as foreign minister, in some tearing crisis of the East-West conflict, none of us knows. Neither is it at all difficult to imagine how it might work in terms of a Britain disposed by a justifiable self-interest to neutrality, and disposed by a Socialist government to conciliate Communism. The Left understands the Left.

PSYCHOLOGY—OR POOR TEACHING?

(*Continued from p. 445*)

volves accurate spelling, legible script, correct grammar, clear and logical expression) is merely a further extension of the ability to put blocks together to form a toy house, or to assemble a jig-saw puzzle and make a picture.

It would thus appear that the great majority of children of five or over, regardless of color, race or social and economic background, can learn to read provided they are first taught the sounds of the letters of the alphabet and then encouraged to put the letters together to construct words.

But there must also be quiet and order. During the recitation, I saw no sign of children "cutting up," or wandering around. The teacher was at all times in complete control, and there was silence in the room except when she spoke or asked a child to recite. Only once did she raise her voice slightly, to say that she heard "buzzing." The noise stopped. Later, she sensed a growing restlessness and asked the children to place their heads on their desks and relax for a few moments. Despite the overcrowding and other difficulties, she was thus able to perform effectively her basic function, to transmit her knowledge to those placed under her charge.

In the few moments I had alone with some of the children I asked them if they liked to come to school, if they would have preferred to stay home, if they liked their teacher. From their words, and even more from their expressions, I learned that they liked to come to school; they could not conceive of staying home. They regarded their teacher with a feeling of awe, mixed with love.

In such an atmosphere, the teacher can give instruction not only in reading but in self-discipline and manners. But such training is not given as another educational course, for credit. It is taught as a way of life which can help give joy and satisfaction to parents and other adults who come in contact with children.

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# The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

## *Freedom Is a Problem*

There is a new breed of political scientists abroad in the land, as different from the old breed as chalk from cheese. The old breed has its roots, at best, in Madison and Hamilton and Jefferson and Wilson and the late great Charles A. Beard, and at worst in Harold Lasswell and those of his adepts who have encouraged the idea that we improve our understanding of politics through statistical analysis of the phenomena of political "behavior." The new breed has its roots, by sharp contrast, in Plato and Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. The old breed, officially at least, are cultists of "scientific" "impartiality"; the new make no secret of the fact that they take sides. The old breed never touch the English language except to slaughter it; the new tend to a high degree of literacy: they can write, and their products show that they can read, and even like to read. The old breed has given us a professional political science literature projected on a level of intellectual difficulty more appropriate to a Chinese laundry than to a scholarly discipline, and dull beyond belief; the new thinks both before it writes and while it is writing, works its readers hard, and even tickles their fancy now and then with a chuckle or a witticism.

The old breed are obtainable in quantity, any June, at any of the nation's Ph.D. factories; the new breed are still *rara avis,* and come, for the most part, from a single institution, namely, the University of Chicago, for a good reason: most of them are pupils of one of the two or three great teachers of politics of our day, Professor Leo Strauss, who communicates to them, as if by magic, his own love of learning, his own sense of the gravity of the great problems of politics, and his own habit of thinking deeply about a problem before rushing into print. The old breed are riding high, and make and unmake reputations for professional achievements; the new breed are unlikely, for a good long while anyhow, to cut much ice in the political science profession's most exalted counsels. But they may well do something far more important, namely, to revive the habit of political thought in the United States, to set standards for it that the old breed, because of the patent inadequacy of their training, cannot live up to, *and* bring under challenge the Liberal orthodoxy that is the main burden of the bulk of our current political science literature.

### *From the New Breed*

*Freedom, Virtue* [virtue, mark you] *and the First Amendment,* by Walter Berns (Louisiana State University Press, $4.00) is the first full-dress book we have from the new breed in which the author addresses himself to a traditional problem of American politics (as contrasted with a problem in "pure" political theory). Its thesis is fourfold:

1. That the constitutional law of the First Amendment—that one of the amendments that forbids Congress and (as interpreted) the states to make any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press" is today a "shambles," in "hopeless confusion."

2. That the confusion is due to the fact that the relevant Supreme Court decisions, over the past decades but particularly of late, have been dictated by the Liberal (Berns writes "liberal") "notion of law."

3. That the Liberal notion of law reduces itself, on one side anyhow, to the idea that "freedom is not a problem"—that men are born free in the sense that they have inalienable rights, derived from a non-governmental source, that the protection of these rights against interference by the government is the supreme political good, and that—this being why freedom is not a problem—it is all very simple: when a claim to freedom clashes with a claim on behalf of any competing good *except* national security, you resolve the clash in favor of freedom.

4. That a constitutional system can assign to freedom that kind of priority only by sacrificing justice and certain other goods that are indispensable to a decent society; that, most particularly, a decent society does not hesitate, when occasion arises, to deny to its citizens the freedom to utter that which is evil, and must, to that end, know and be prepared to act on the distinction between good and evil (which our Liberal-dominated Supreme Court persistently refuses to do); and that the only reason the Liberals think otherwise is that they possess neither the wisdom nor the knowledge nor the skills imparted by political philosophy.

In a word: Freedom, Berns insists, *is* a problem; and if we ever solve the problem that is freedom we shall do so not with catch-phrases out of a constitution, but by hard thinking that must begin by recognizing the complexities the problem involves—and, ultimately, by hard thinking about "what men of another era called virtue." The Supreme Court, that is to say, must mend its ways, which calls, first of all, for abandonment of the Liberal idea that "the word virtue carries overtones of authoritarianism [and] bigotry," and that the "one unexpiable sin is for government to get into the business of distinguishing good and evil." Berns continues: That sort of thing leads, so it is claimed, "to the imposing of orthodoxies, and an orthodoxy imposed by government is the dirty work of totalitarianism. Strict adherence to the Constitution will prevent this. Government will never have the opportunity to impose a definition of good and evil . . . [because] the [clear and present] danger test is available to solve all problems. And the danger test does not recognize virtue."

But, says Berns, it is precisely the danger test that has led to the confusion that his book proceeds to document. And this columnist suggests we hear him further on that next week.



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## Letter from Abroad

# *Who Is the President of Switzerland?*

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

For years I had found it safe to assume that Alistair Horne knows everything. I came to know this soon after, virtual strangers, we found ourselves assigned to the same room at boarding school, many long years ago, and I learned that he could fix my contraband radio, correct my geometry, and win the current affairs quiz sponsored by *Time* magazine. Alistair, who had been sent to America along with so many other English boys and girls to pursue their education beyond the reach of Hitler's bombers, had not, in the three years he had spent away from home, changed his ways, and so he greeted me with the formality which English boys tend to show to each other on limited acquaintance. I had myself been to school in England, and was prepared to respond in kind: in England, even at a very young age, it is not assumed that the common experience of being at the same school at the same time automatically makes for total familiarity. Friendship is selective, and the process of it most often (though not always) slow. It is proper to respect the privacy of fellow students, even those with whom one shares a wash-basin.

The friendship that grew between us evolved organically, spans a large ocean, and many political differences, and is solid as a tree. That friendship, which was instantly and spontaneously extended to the lovely woman he married, my wife and I count among our prime assets.

We joined company in Zurich last week, and I asked him, casually at lunch, "Who, by the way, is the President of Switzerland?" His face contracted. He paused . . . I'd not have expected such a delay if I had asked him how one puts together a hydrogen bomb, or why Aneurin Bevan is admitted inside the British Isles. "To tell the truth," he said finally, "I don't know." Surely this was freakish ignorance we happened, by odd coincidence, to share. We turned to our wives: they did not know either. I picked up the morning paper and scanned the columns. I saw no reference to the President of the Republic, anywhere. I could not believe my eyes! Imagine an American paper without reference to Eisenhower, a Spanish paper without reference to, pictures of, and paeans on, General Franco; a French paper without references to the interregnum; a Mexican paper without Ruiz Cortines all over the place . . .

We were, indeed, in an a-political state, one of the wonders of the world. The reason the President of Switzerland is a relatively unknown figure is that politics, in Switzerland, does not wag the national dog, as politics does in virtually every other state in the world. No one much seems to care who is President—the President, whoever he is, will do what needs to be done, Switzerland will continue in its prescribed course, and get on with important matters, like making roads and watches, and rearing one's children. In the presidency of the Helvetic Confederation there simply isn't the glamour or the power of the kind that keeps so many men in so many lands awake at night thirsting, and busy during the day conspiring, and traffiicking in demagogy; politics, in Switzerland, is under control.

It is not widely known that Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations—why should it be? What has the United Nations, a forum in which nations meet in order handily to exchange insults, bribes, intimidations, and cynicisms, to offer the Swiss? Far from standing in line for membership, Switzerland, to the eternal but highly suppressed embarrassment of the one-worlders, said thanks very much but we have other things on our mind, when joining-time at the United Nations rolled around; and no doubt she smiles (though not for the world would one be permitted to see that smile) when not the United Nations building, but Geneva, continues to be acknowledged, by common action of the mighty, as the genuinely professional arena for getting on with the world's disagreements.

Granted these are days when neutralism should be frowned upon, and I hereby frown upon Switzerland's. But, of course, Switzerland is truly one of us (last week the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* was advocating the kind of firmness in the Mideast that would have given pause to Joe McCarthy); indeed, in many ways, much better than we are, for her own house is in thoroughly good order, and so in word and deed, she is a thorn in Communism's side. We drove over central and southern Switzerland, and noted the numerous installations into which at a moment's notice, tank-stopping dragons' teeth can be fitted to block the narrow passes. We passed more than one well camouflaged military airfield, abuzz with activity; and in many places, soldiers on maneuver. The most doggedly pacific people in the world, yes; but let anyone with designs on Swiss independence be prepared to fight the last Swiss.

We climbed by funicular 11,000 feet, to the Jungfraujoch, whence, surrounded by a glacier, we could see snowy mountain peaks in four nations of predatory historical bent which, nevertheless, gave up centuries ago any idea of encroaching upon this mountainous and fiercely independent enclave. We got off the train and walked down three thousand feet, from Wengen to Lauterbrunnen, and, back at Interlaken, fondue for dinner. Then over the Grimsel Pass, 7,500 feet, one week before, yielding to ice and snow, it would be formally closed. On to the valley, and the trickle of water that becomes the Rhone and empties, three hundred miles west, into the Mediterranean. Up to Zermatt, and by cable car to the foot of the arrogant and imperious Matterhorn, bathed in sunlight, a wispy cloud caressing the peak all day long, and a five-mile walk back to Zermatt and, for reasons I sit at a loss to understand, on to Paris.



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## Letter from the Continent

# *Pie in the Sky and Other Red Satellites*

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

There is a deep symbolic value in the fact that just as the Soviets launched their first satellite in the sky, the students of Poland were again rioting —this time against the confiscation of their paper *Po Prostu*—and with them, in their hearts, all thinking men and women in the bonds of Red slavery.

It is a curious fact that the technological military and economic strengthening of the Soviet Union goes hand in hand with a mounting unrest derived from all sorts of factors, one of them being the ever more visible bankruptcy of Communist doctrine, of Communist thought, of Communist art and literature. Historians know that revolutions and rebellions by no means happen at the moment when the oppression and misery of the masses reaches its zenith, but rather when the pressure lessens and a modicum of freedom and well-being appears on the scene. The French Revolution broke out in a period of economic prosperity and after a year of steady reform; the Russian Revolution took place after twelve years of constant liberalization; the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was preceded by two years of economic advance and lessening controls; the present profound unrest in the Red orbit is the aftermath of de-Stalinization and of a score of measures designed to give a little more elbow room to the hapless Soviet and satellite citizens.

### *Scientists and Slavery*

It is interesting to see how differently the scientists and technologists on the one hand, and the intellectuals and artists on the other, react to the threat of totalitarian slavery. It is true that a number of men with a classical education, theorists, philosophers, poets, architects, chose not only to stay inside Germany after 1933 (a decision in itself entirely honorable) but also to collaborate shamelessly with the Nazi regime. Nevertheless, the record of the scientists and engineers is far worse. Indifferent to all humane principles, they were interested only in a chance to go on inventing and working, building and constructing. I know of no engineer among the numerous victims of the abortive July 1944 conspiracy, and the only scientists who paid with their lives were those who had dealt with the borderland between the physical and the metaphysical.

While a scientist or engineer can be dazzled by gorgeous laboratories, the chance to work with limitless funds and sometimes to see his own most ambitious plans transformed into reality, the thinker or the artist in the Soviet world goes through real agony —unless he has lost all personal pride and is satisfied to be physically and mentally a slave. Men concerned with philosophical problems, trying to provide an answer to the question "What is man?" or "What is human destiny?" are automatically suspect and subject to the closest scrutiny and supervision. Viewed superficially, there does seem to be a modicum of interest in philosophy within the Soviet realm, and in Moscow a fat philosophical review is published periodically. Philosophy is being taught in several Soviet universities. Yet the narrow scope of investigation, the constant fear of overstepping limits set by existing "directives," and above all the knowledge that one's own dear colleagues are waiting for a chance at denunciation have a paralyzing effect.

This mania for denunciation exists in the field of the humanities, including the entire literary and artistic life of the Soviet Union. It is the natural result of the government's ideological policy of "divide and rule" and of the fact that few self-respecting persons choose a career designed to provide unconditional service for tyrants. The scientist or engineer at least has the consolation of knowing that he would turn out the same type of work anywhere. It is in the intellectual and artistic pursuits that the prostitution of the more gifted *Homo Sovieticus* comes into sharp profile. Hence the wild intrigues, the hate-swollen reviews, the secret denunciations, the nauseating self-abasement that we find in the intellectual and artistic domain of the Soviet Union and of the satellite states. (Especially in literary criticism the venom to be found is quite unbelievable. It reminds one of Sartre's *"L'enfer—c'est les autres."*)

### *The Spark of Revolt*

Yet, while man is a fallen creature, even in his debasement he has a divine spark. Even slaves rebel. If one regularly reads Soviet periodicals and novels, as this writer does, one usually has to laugh and cry at the same time. Last year a corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kolchinski) advocated the mass manufacture of cheap telescopes to destroy the "ugliest survival of capitalism—the myth of God." How? Well, you look skyward and don't see an old man with a beard sitting above the clouds. That's one way to deal with a fundamental philosophical problem.

Yet there is in Russia and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain a marked revolt, and a careful reader can clearly discern the limits of the debasement so many writers and artists refuse to transgress. On the European Continent literature has always played a disruptive political role. Thought and *belles lettres* have only too often been Archimedian points from which the position of those in power could be effectively assailed. The students, too young to be thoroughly corrupted by the degradation of life in a totalitarian state, are the natural trail-blazers of revolutionary movements.

Meanwhile the men in the Kremlin, fearful of losing their satellites and feeling the earth beginning to burn under their feet, are sending one artificial satellite after another into outer space. The Red leaders have become modest; instead of reaching for stars they content themselves with moons. Their real aim, the globe which figures in their coat of arms, seems to be farther away than ever.



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# ARTS and MANNERS

ROBERT PHELPS

## *A Parable of the Actor's Vocation*

I suppose, by now, most of the people associated with the New York theater have been downtown to see a play called *Career* by a young man named James Lee, and that those who invest money, or persuade others to do so, have been reconsidering a homely fact which the Broadway stage too frequently ignores: the paying customer can be just as entertained by sense as by nonsense; by seriousness as by inanity; by a few grains of truth as by a clutter of lies. At least he can, if all other factors are equal: if the playwright has done a responsible, uncondescending job; if the actors are capable of holding down a stage; if the subject matter is more than merely someone's lyric leakage.

Certainly there has been no new play in New York for a long time which has pointed this moral more firmly than *Career*. Hal Wallis has already bought the film rights, and if attendance the night I saw it is any index, it should be around all winter.

One review, though praising it extravagantly, nonetheless described it as "an almost unrelievedly depressing chronicle about the theater." I felt exactly the opposite. For although its story involves anguish, waiting, humiliation, compromise, near-despair, and several kinds of heartbreak, its hero is also one of the most awesome sights in the world: a believably dedicated man, a man with a true vocation, a calling, an absolute need to do one thing with his life, and one thing only. (In fact, my only objection to anything about the play was its title, which implies that it is only about the visible scramble for success.)

The hero of *Career* is Sam Lawson, and his calling is the theater. Not television, nor radio, nor films, but that uncanned, always and eternally uncanny, live theater in which an actor is at stake every night at 8:40, appearing in his own vulnerable flesh and blood before an equally live audience to make an image which, like a falling star, may be seen only once, in that time and that place by those particular witnesses: a performance which demands a fresh expense of spirit each time it is recreated (it can never be merely repeated) and which, for the few hours it is happening, binds the spectators into a unique community.

### *Undivided Aim*

To create in this medium is Sam Lawson's ambition. But it might just as easily have been mountain-climbing, or keeping a mission house, or writing a novel, or for that matter, being the father of a family. For it is Sam's singleness that counts. Nor is it a question of whether or not he is the best actor in the world. He has talent, of course. He has been chosen. But it is, in turn, his own total gift of his life to this one way of working and being which makes him heroic. His aim is undivided, and *Career* is the record of his quest.

He will do anything to act. He works indefatigably, as a waiter, a stage manager, on bit parts, on tour. He accepts money from his family. He sees his wife suffer and eventually leave him. He waits for years. He harangues, pesters, blackmails, pulls strings, shames himself. Every other aspect of his life—as a husband, a father, a wage-earner, a social being, a private citizen—is sacrificed.

Then, when he is 45, the theater finally acknowledges him. In the last scene he stands waiting for his opening night curtain to go up. His agent asks him if it has been worth it; when he answers her, unironically, he says the only thing a dedicated man can say to such a question: *Yes.*

*Career* has been playing in a basement theater called the Actor's Playhouse (at 100 Seventh Avenue South, Manhattan Island) since, I believe, May. The wedge-shaped auditorium seats perhaps 150 people. The stage is without a curtain. There is no Mainbocher costuming, no tricky decor, no cooled air. Only the play and its players are there to hold the audience in its seats, but I saw no one leaving early. All of the acting is exceptional; some of the performances, for instance Charles Aidman's, Larry Hagman's and Norma Crane's, are as good as anything currently playing uptown; and Mary James, as Sam's agent, does a job which ought to bring her some sort of award at the end of the year (and at the very least, I pray Mr. Wallis will retain her for his film).

Early in the play, there is a scene in which Sam, as a young man, bursts unannounced into her office to demand a job. Miss James begins by being as brutally hard as nails. She throws the book at Sam, cutting him down and telling him, without mercy, the cold facts of the theatrical life. Good looks, talent, luck, money, even unscrupulousness are never enough. There is something else an actor must have, and before this amazing scene is finished, Miss James has discovered it in Sam: an indomitable will to survive. Then she is won over, and becomes a guardian angel to Sam himself, and the interpreting chorus for the whole play, for the whole theatrical vocation.

Of course, sooner or later, as you sit watching this engaging cast, and listening to the intermittent rumble of the IRT subway under the floor, you realize that something besides the play itself is going on. At first a little self-consciously, and then unabashedly, you recognize the situation of which you yourself, as a spectator, are a part. Here around you is the very stuff the play is talking about: the dedicated actors, the off-Broadway, shoestring production, the passionate love of the stage.

It is a curious, special effect. For though the playwright and the director may have foreseen it, may even here and there have calculated it, it is a cachet which they cannot control. Any future version of *Career*, on Broadway or in Hollywood, will have lost it. It is only from a seat in the Actor's Playhouse that you will see this peculiar double exposure. It is only there that you will be seeing, in addition to the play-on-the-stage, another play-outside-the-play, an equally valiant, though unfinished and authorless one, which I think might very aptly be called *Vocation*. In itself it is worth the price of admission.



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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## Cult of Inevitability

REVILO OLIVER

In the eighteenth century the self-appointed *philosophes* discovered that religion is a "barrier athwart Man's road to Freedom," and confidently predicted that the "inevitable course of history" would abolish Christianity by 1800 or 1850. Although the course of history proved once again that, as Hilaire Belloc put it, "men prophesy and the future makes fools of them" the vendors of pseudo-intellectual revelation are still doing business at the old stands.

Noisy prophets now assure you that the "inevitable course of history" leads to international socialism, and exhort you to accommodate yourself to a "changing world" in which the only thing that will not change is the direction of social change. But since Christianity is undeniably still with us, the more wary practitioners now discover that there is a happy coincidence between what History makes inevitable and what the "true Christian" must desiderate.

Both of these impudent assertions are cogently examined by Denis de Rougemont in *Man's Western Quest: The Principles of Civilization* (Harper, $3.00).

The book is unfortunately marred by many and serious blemishes. The American translator and editors are to blame for such solecisms as "most well known" and such nonsense as "hecatombs of bishops were put down," and they may be responsible for some apparent inconsistence, but the fact is that M. de Rougemont, though an acute theologian, is ill equipped as an historian. On many matters of secular history, from ancient city-states and Roman imperialism to Mediaeval historiography and Renaissance Humanism, he either is inadequately informed or suffers from a myopia that blurs perspective. He accordingly exhibits a Christian bias when he writes of pagan antiquity, and a Protestant bias when he writes of the Middle Ages. Fortunately these errors, though unsightly, are merely marginal and do not affect his major argument.

The great value of M. de Rougemont's book lies in the analysis which shows that the spiritual maladies of the modern world are essentially perversions of Christianity. Thus the erotic mysticism that appears so prominently in our literature from the troubadours of Provence to the Romantic poets is really a gynaeolatry which elevates woman to the level of the superhuman and diverts to her the sentiments of worship; it is a sexual perversion of religious fervor.

The political perversion of Christianity is social revolution. The deflection of religious zeal toward secular ends was never contemplated or authorized by the continuous body of Christian doctrine, although it was sporadically attempted by one or another of the more extreme heresies.

As M. de Rougemont points out, "The early Christians remained supporters of the established order." There is no indication that they tried to subvert the imperial system or attacked the institution of slavery. The great force of Christianity lay precisely in the fact that it effected a dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual, concerning itself exclusively with the salvation of the individual soul, which depends on subjective moral attitudes and *voluntary* acts. Since it recognized no good that was not the result of free moral choice, it urged the rich man to give to the poor for the sake of his own soul, not for the comfort of the "underprivileged." The only equality that it promised in this world was equal opportunity for salvation and life in the next. Supremely unconcerned with "social justice" except in so far as the latter may be a by-product of the *voluntary* practice of Christian virtues, Christianity cannot authorize the ends, let alone the means, of collective social reform.

Now "a revolutionary Party is an exact parody (conscious or unconscious) of the Christian Church." It tries to substitute coercion for conversion, collectivity for individuals, and body for soul. It is an anti-Church which impiously and fatuously attempts to anticipate the Second Coming of Christ by creating a society in which men will be prevented from sinning, *i.e.,* from exercising moral choice. This perversion of religious energies necessarily leads to madness. "The Revolution, while a libertarian myth, is in reality . . . a persecution psychosis, the paranoia of the West."

Its true motivation, "despite the hypocrisy of partisan historiographers," is apparent from its results. "The great European revolutions did not once overthrow a tyrant. On the contrary, they set up some very great and bloody ones." And, as M. de Rougemont acutely observes, although the "intellectual snobs of the West" may feel obliged formally to deprecate violence and murder, the real purpose of social revolution is massacre, the sacrament necessary to appease the frenzy of religious perversion. We can now see why so many professed idealists are unconcerned by either the economic failure or the hideous consequences of such movements as the French Revolution or contemporary Communism: the guillotine, the machine gun, the torture chamber, and the labor camp celebrate the mysteries of a cult whose votaries find in every butchery and



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brutality only confirmation of their faith.

The inverted religion of social reform naturally produces doctrines of historical determinism, which serve both to encourage its own devotees and to confuse and dismay its adversaries. When a system of determinism (*e.g.*, behaviorist psychology) is applied to individuals, it attracts everyone who wishes to evade moral responsibility or to deny the freedom of the will that is the basis of both the Christian religion and ethical philosophy, but its effects are mitigated by the practical refutation that is provided by every moment of our waking lives.

Some forms of determinism, like solipsism, can be supported by arguments which are invulnerable in theory, but no man can *live* as a solipsist or determinist. However convinced he may be of the truth of his doctrine, the solipsist must behave as though the world and other people existed, and the determinist must constantly *decide* what he will or will not do. Every effort to avoid a decision becomes in itself a decision. This is obvious to everyone so long as we speak of the conduct of individuals. M. de Rougemont holds that it should be equally obvious when we consider the conduct of societies.

Societies, being composed of individuals, must likewise make decisions. Today the great appeal of the various systems of historical determinism, from the naive gospel of dialectical materialism to the historionomies that posit an "organic" society or civilization governed by biological laws as though customs and ideas were forms of protoplasm, lies in the evasion of moral responsibility. And on another level, as M. de Rougemont notes, our contemporaries try not to see that economics and technology are merely a series of choices made by men.

Thus the laboring classes clamor for more and more toys and imagine "that the 'irresistible movement of history' is more and more on their side," while the educated elite, although alarmed by the cultural decline, either shift the responsibility to a mysterious destiny or blame the machine and technics, a puerile evasion that is "like beating the table because you have collided with it." We forget that our industrial system is largely concerned with the production of what are merely toys for grown-ups, and that most of the things that we regard as necessities are really amusements.

For all practical purposes, therefore, no social change is "historically inevitable." It is the product of human volition, the result of a decision made by a number of men, no one of whom can avoid the moral responsibility of his act. If socialism, for example, is inevitable, it is inevitable *only* because those who prize freedom and human dignity are too weak or too pusillanimous to resist the zealots of a cult that M. de Rougemont has persuasively identified as an obscene parody of Christianity.

# Heretic?

SLOBODAN M. DRASKOVICH

Brigadier General Fitzroy Maclean, who was head of the British Military Mission to the Partisan Headquarters of Josip Broz-Tito in World War II, contributed more than any other individual to the shaping of British wartime policy in occupied Yugoslavia. Enjoying the confidence of Winston Churchill, he was in a position to prevail upon the Prime Minister to give full and unqualified support to Communist Tito.

His new book: *The Heretic* (Harper, $5.95), demonstrates that Mr. Maclean, who is today a Conservative member of the British Parliament, has not changed his ideas about Tito personally or politically. He simply continues to follow the pattern of Communist propaganda during World War II: Tito is admittedly a Communist, *but* he is also a nationalist, who is fighting for the freedom of the people and the independence of Yugoslavia. As a patriot he was joined by patriots of all political opinions, waged a gallant fight against the invader and liberated Yugoslavia single-handedly.

After the Kremlin-Tito break of 1948, Tito's promoters in the free world jubilantly announced that the conflict was the logical and inescapable rebellion of nationalist Tito against hegemonist Stalin. A little later they proclaimed that Tito had instituted democratic reforms, which were gradually taking Yugoslavia away from Communism and bringing it closer to democracy.

While admiration for Tito is a matter of personal taste and political conscience, Maclean's interpretations of the basic problems of the Tito case require much more reliable information and serious political analysis than he gives to the problem—especially after the experience of the Moscow-Tito reconciliation (1955-1957).

Tito and his comrades, asserts Maclean, clashed with the Kremlin because "their loyalty to their country had outweighed their loyalty to Moscow." While the USSR helplessly suffered under Stalinism, Yugoslavia started breathing more freely under Tito's "liberal Leninism"! Tito and his comrades never believed that a Soviet attack on Yugoslavia could take place because "that would mean the end of socialism in the world." Maclean wants us to believe that Stalin seriously intended to invade Communist Yugoslavia. However, superman Tito's determination to resist was such that Stalin shrank back, etc.

Building on such premises, Maclean praises the West's "clear-sighted" policy of aid to Tito, based "on the firmest of all foundations—common interest."

To understand his enthusiasm for Tito, we must note his lack of knowledge of Communism. Ever since Marx, Communists have been concerned not with interpreting the world, but with changing it. Communist theory has always been "not a dogma, but a guide to action." Yet Maclean credits Tito with this idea as an "innovation."

Regarding the "withering away of the state," he acclaims Tito for denouncing the failure of the Soviets to "wither." But he conveniently forgets that Tito, in upbraiding Djilas in 1954, adopted a 100 per cent Stalinist attitude on the "withering" of Yugoslavia's Communist regime.

As for the Hungarian revolution of October 1956, Tito declared that the Soviet intervention was neces-



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sary, since it was saving "socialism in Hungary." Kadar and his comrades represented "that which is most honest in Hungary." Still, Mr. Maclean claims that Tito disapproved of the Soviet intervention!

Mr. Maclean's book is without interest for those who want to learn the facts of the Tito problem. It is equally without interest for those who want to know the Communist version of Tito's person and his rise to power in Yugoslavia. (That version was published four years ago—Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito.*)

But those who are interested in exploring the frame of mind of Westerners who unconditionally supported Tito and established him in power and those who would like to know more about the roots and essence of Western Titoism, would do well to read *The Heretic.* They will learn a great deal.

## *Recent Autobiography*

# The Cold and the Hot

ROGER BECKET

The first example of true autobiography, as distinct from self-esteeming public relations, was written by St. Augustine. It is the Christian emphasis on the uniqueness of each soul, and at the same time its *necessity* to the community of God that makes autobiography more than a private record, and justifies a man's probing and bearing witness to his innermost recesses for his neighbor's possible use.

In recent decades there has been a growing tendency for our best writing in any form—Proust's novel, Toynbee's history, Eliot's verse—to observe its risky but inevitable gravity. Saul Padover's idea for an anthology of *Confessions and Self-Portraits: 4600 Years of Autobiography* (John Day, $5.75) was therefore excellent and timely, but he has oddly botched the execution. This seems especially curious because his preface is so good—specifically pointing out that the essence of autobiography is a man's attempt to understand his deepest inner motives. But instead of selecting the best examples of this struggle we have had, his pages only trace the long, slow emergence of the form: so that we get a lot of outside records, but very little inside reckoning. And though we find a bleak contribution by Wordsworth, and an earnestly superficial one by Jack London, there is not a word by Stendhal, Thoreau, Chateaubriand, Gide, or several dozen possible others, so that the book which should ideally bear Mr. Padover's title remains to be gathered.

Meanwhile, new autobiographies continue to appear, though as usual, the large majority Play It Cool. The author tells us his particular story, but the particular self to whom it happens is safely generalized upon and guarded by typicality. Two current examples of this sort are Vera Brittain's *Testament of Experience* (Macmillan, $5) and Caryl Chessman's *The Face of Justice* (Prentice-Hall, $3.95).

Miss Brittain believes in pacifism; Mr. Chessman is against capital punishment. Both have demonstrably lived lives which suffered for their beliefs, but neither does the hard, awkward and dangerous thing an autobiography asks its author to do. Therefore both remain only editorials.

Certainly the most discussed autobiography of the season has been *Leftover Life to Kill* (Atlantic, Little Brown, $4.50), by the widow of the late British poet and literary lion, Dylan Thomas. After her husband's death, Mrs. Thomas suffered an almost total suspension of self-control, dignity, or awareness of others, and out of the same compulsions that prompted her behavior, she has now made a record of some of it—in both cases apparently intending a sort of self-punishment. Actually, it is those around her, chiefly her small son, whom she punishes.

No self-preserver, in fact absolutely perverse in her determination to trample where angels fear to tread, Mrs. Thomas has Played It Hot all the way. The result is a book which I honestly don't think a man should review. For Mrs. Thomas is altogether a woman. Her calling (motherhood) is a woman's, and so are her failures. I kept repeating "Judge not, lest ye be judged" to myself, but her text kept bringing out the prig in me.

Mrs. Thomas writes with a spastic play of syntax and image which is sometimes dazzling, though oftener only uninhibited. She is truly heartbroken, and, heaven knows, her situation was full enough of trials and temptations to make anyone listen with humility. But over and over, as she almost ritually taunts herself for her failure to do anything but be at the mercy of it, I wanted her to say, for God's sake, Caitlin Thomas, forget about yourself, and wash your little boy's face and cook him something decent to eat. After all, you are a mother, not a poet. Stop aping your husband and presuming upon his limelight.

Which is not, of course, the whole story, nor a just response. For the extremity of inner suffering to which Mrs. Thomas shamelessly, exasperatingly, bears witness is something one must believe, or set aside. And if one believes it, then one must feel more than common sense or priggishness in one's heart. All I really feel sure of is this: that the book should not have been written in the first place, but now that it has, *there must not be a sequel.* For in that case, it will be hard not to suspect that she loves having her photograph in *Harper's Bazaar* more than she loves her sanity, her children, her husband's memory, anything; in fact, that what began as genuine disorder has proceeded to become functional.


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# To the Editor

### *An Independent Panel*

In the issue of October 26, Willmoore Kendall . . . wrote a column called "The Fund Drives a Wedge Between Our Traditions and Our Way of Life" and cited four "sample stories" which were publicized by the American Traditions Project of the Fund for the Republic as examples of how the Fund achieved this remarkable feat.

I am afraid that Mr. Kendall labored under the impression that these examples of our "cherished liberty" were chosen by the Fund's Board of Directors or its staff. They were in fact chosen by an independent panel of judges.

The following persons served on the panel: General William F. Dean, chairman; James Carey, Mildred McAfee Horton, Henry L. Nunn, Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, Bishop John J. Wright.

JOHN COGLEY
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
*New York City*

### *Dispute on Fundamentals, cont'd*

That was an amazing letter in the October 19 issue signed by Professor B. Chudoba. I am not yet sure whether it was written with tongue in cheek. It was my idea that a balanced government is the essence of conservatism as applied to politics. The President has not been elected to the supreme judgeship, nor has he been given legislative authority, although many of us recognize the increasing acceptance of usurpation. . . .

What Professor Chudoba calls "the so-called balance of powers" idea in government was not born with Montesquieu. And if the author of *The Spirit of the Law* was sick in his mind, he concealed it remarkably well. It is true that Mr. Madison mentioned Montesquieu in "The Federalist, No. 47," but he was not unaware of others who had preceded the great Frenchman in that field. He might well have spoken of Polybius, who said that a balanced government was best, and . . . of Aristotle, who described the powers of the one, the few, and the many. Both of these ancient wisemen credited Lycurgus as having been the first, in his constitution for Sparta, to separate and balance the three segments which may work for good or bad.

Now if the professor's letter was not written in jest, he seems to exhibit shocking ignorance or disdain for American constitutional government. . . . The tragic underestimation of the founding fathers was in the predictable rise of a race of Americans contemptuous of history and filled with an unlearned, determined evangelism. . . .

Our problem, the problem of this generation of Americans, is to rescue the government we had rather than to abandon ourselves to tyranny, whether of the one, the few, or the many.

DR. ROBERT J. NEEDLES
*St. Petersburg, Fla.*

### *"Princeton and the Priest"*

A letter to the editor on "Princeton and the Priest" in the November 2 issue interested me.

Eugene H. Dooman urged repudiation of any creed, philosophy, etc. that claims to be "the sole repository of the eternal verities." From this it is obvious that some truth is reposed in Communism and some falsehood is reposed in Christianity, permitting the inference of no absolute truth or falsehood in any philosophy. [Hence] Communism and Christianity are ideologically compatible, can coexist, and Father Halton must of necessity go. . . .

*Buffalo, N.Y.* TED C. HOLLINSHEAD

### *The Haunted Party*

I noticed in the October 12 issue that you referred bitterly to the *Herald Tribune's* editorial about McCarthy's "ghost in the Senate."

. . . What I think is really significant is that McCarthy's critics should be seeing his ghost at a time when we are dismayed by the scientific accomplishments of the Russians. There is something Shakespearian about it—the ghost of Banquo haunting Macbeth. . . . McCarthy's ghost may be trying to tell us something to which we did not listen when he was alive. He told us "America will die" if we did not tighten our security regulations. . . .

Indeed, the Republicans could, if they were as clever as the Russians, use McCarthy's ghost to good advantage, by "rehabilitating" him, as the Communists do their comrades when the occasion is right. They could show that the "hysteria" and "witch-hunting" by a Republican has now been justified. . . .

*Neshanic, N.J.* M.M.B.

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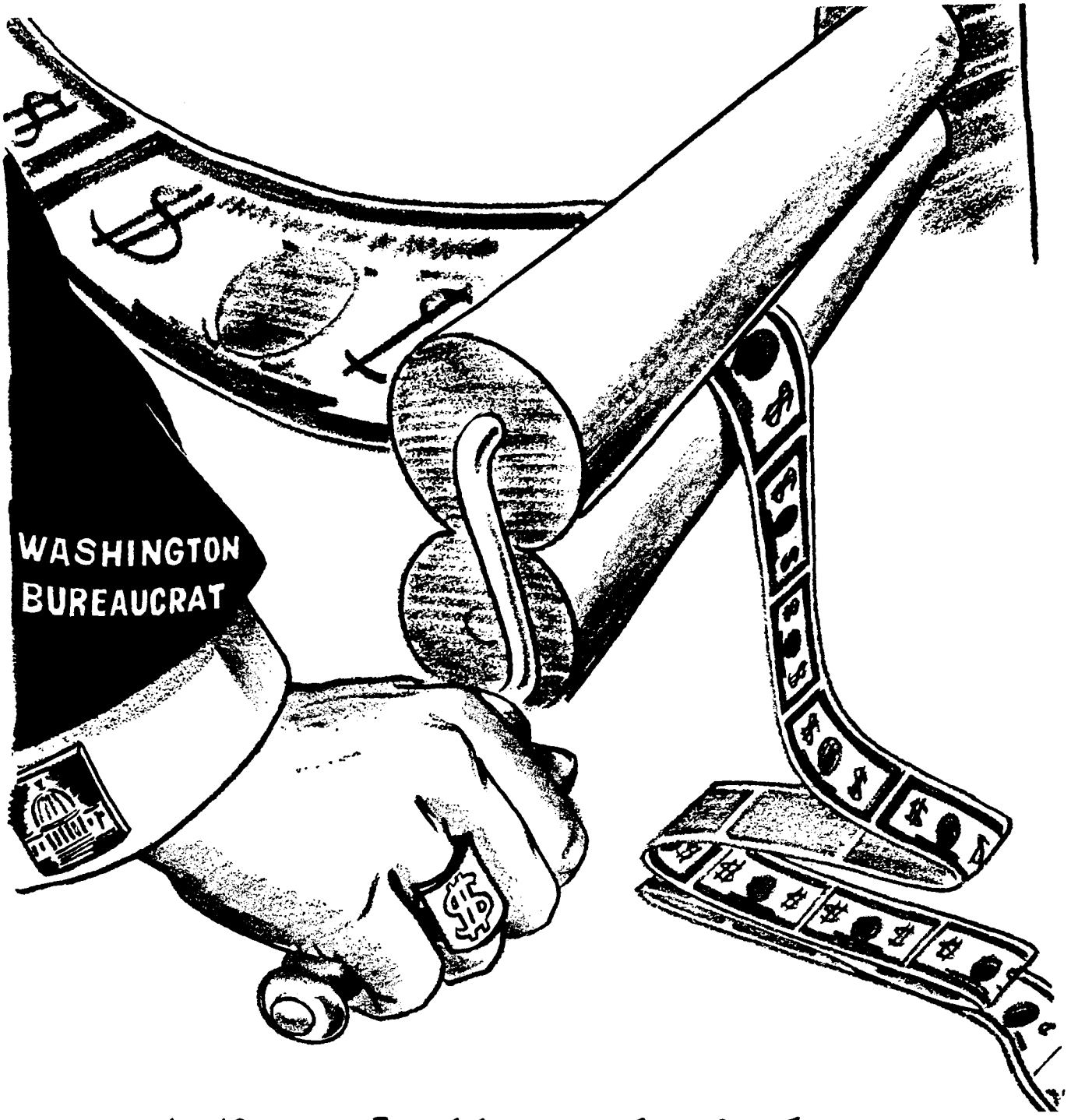


# The dollar shrinker

IF you bought a new suit of clothes, wore it in the rain and had it shrink up to your knees, you'd be sore about it wouldn't you? Something similar happens to the tax dollars you pay to Washington intended for improvements back home. By the time these Federal tax dollars have been through the "shrinker" in Washington and get back home they're only a small part of what they were. A big part of each dollar has been used to pay for administrative expenses of the gigantic local aid program.

Doesn't it seem more logical for Washington to handle strictly national affairs like defense and postal service? And leave local improvements to local communities? Sound sensible? If so, why not let your Congressman know?

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